2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
Central Kerala Nayar

342 tertaining friends, or sleeping when they were not visiting their wives. [343] A cowshed a few yards from the residential buildings completed the arrangements in a normal retainer homestead. In village headmen's 342 and chiefly households whose women often had Brahman husbands 556 a separate building with its own kitchen was set aside to entertain the men when they visited their wives.

[357] The buildings and outer courtyard were surrounded by a shady garden of coconut, jack, cashew, and mango trees. Chiefs and village [312] headmen had a private bathing pool with stone steps round it in their own gardens. Retainers more often bathed in the large public bathing [515] pools attached to the temples and reserved for "clean" castes of the village. Men and women bathed and swam daily on opposite sides of the pool.

357 In the southwest corner of the garden an open space was set aside 613 as the property group's cremation ground, entered only at funerals. [764] In another corner was a dense shrubbery devoted to the snake gods [776] of the group. Offerings were made there to small stone images of [782] cobras, and if real cobras appeared they were regarded as manifesta- [825] tions of these deities.

A high bamboo fence surrounded the whole establishment. It was entered through a wooden gatehouse within which armed men might 592 sit on guard in time of war.

241 *Economic Activities* The property group obtained almost all of its subsistence from garden and paddy lands held on tenure from the 427 village landlord and cultivated by Tiyyar sub-tenants or by Pulaya 613 serfs. The property group surrendered part of its produce in kind as 433 dues to the landlord. It retained part for maintenance, stored part for repayment to its serfs as daily subsistence, and gave portions twice annually to the village servant households. Tiyyar tenants retained enough for their own needs, but gave the bulk of their produce to their Nayar masters. Increasingly during the period of European trade [439] the property group also sold spices and coconuts to Muslim middle- [432] men in exchange for cash or cloth. The cash was used to buy brass and silver vessels, gold ornaments and jewelry, and other luxury goods [431] from the towns. The property group gave some cloth to its serfs and tenants at festivals once a year.

613 The kāranavan managed all these transactions and controlled the 592 group's estate. He might allocate specific tasks of management to [465] juniors, but no payment was made on behalf of the group, no crops were sold, and no goods were consumed without his consent. Junior men serving in the king's wars received small daily cash sums on an

6:Fawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

PL. XIV.

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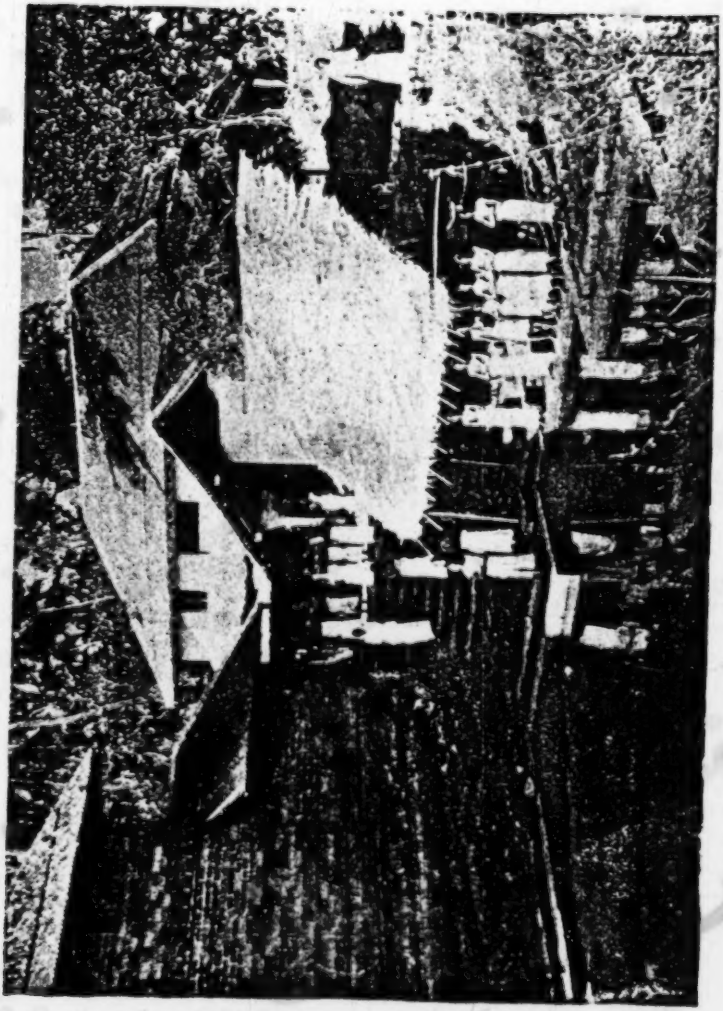

A NAYAR HOME, PANUR, N. MALABAR. THE BATHING TANK AND BATHING SHED IN THE FOREGROUND.

[Facing p. 262]

6:Pawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
AW11 Kerala AW11
Nayar

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[821]

lucky moment for the setting out on this particular occasion on the last day's stage of the journey was at the rising of the constellation of Aquarius.

"The *Tirunāvāyi* temple stands on the north bank of the Ponnāni river close to the present line of railway. Passengers by train can catch a glimpse of it by looking across the level expanse of paddy-fields which lie south of the sixth telegraph post on the three hundred and eighty-second mile of the railway. There is a modest clump of trees on the river bank hiding the temple, the western gateway of which faces a perfectly straight piece of road a little over half a mile in length stretching from the temple gateway westwards to the elevated ridge hemming in the paddy-fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced in the face of the precipitous bank. [491]

"A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the fine avenue shading the public road at this place is ample space for the erection of temporary houses.

"In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction. [312]

"From the upper terrace alluded to a commanding view is obtained facing eastwards of the level rice-plain at foot, of the broad placid river on the right backed by low hills, of higher flat-topped laterite plateaus on the left, their lower slopes bosomed in trees, and, in the far distance, of the great chain of Western Ghâts with the Nilgiris in the extreme left front hardly distinguishable in their proverbial colour from the sky above them. It was on this spot, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some 30 to 40 feet above the plain, that the Zamorin used several times in the course of the festival to take his stand with the sword of Chēramān Perumāl, the last emperor, in his hand. [138]

"The sword is and has been for centuries, slowly rusting away in its scabbard, but it is not alone on it that the Zamorin depends for his safety, for the plain below him is covered with the 30,000 Nâyars of Ernâd, the 10,000 of Polanâd and numberless petty dependent chieftains, each counting his fighting men by the hundred or the thousand or by thousands. Away on the right across the river are the camps of the second prince of the Zamorin's family and of the dependent Punnattūr Raja; the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth princes' camps too are close at hand in the left front behind the temple, and behind the terrace itself is the Zamorin's camp. [701]

"The whole scene is being made gay with flags as an elephant is being formally caparisoned with a chain of solid gold

9:Iyer E-4, 5 (ca. 1902-1906)1912
AWll Kerala AWll
Nayar

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342 recently were thatched are now being tiled with tiles of European pattern manufactured either locally or in Mangalore.
342 In these days of comparative peace and security of life and
178 property from marauders and free-booters, the necessity for massive structures has ceased to exist, and, coupled with this, the improved notions of architecture, derived from an easy intercourse with more civilised centres, the rapid progress of education, and with it a better knowledge of, and regard for, sanitation and hygiene, have wrought remarkable changes in the construction of buildings, so that a better class of houses, well built, airy, and commodious, is displacing the old ones with their small, dark and ill-ventilated rooms.

351 As part of the surroundings of the dwellings in the same
[343] compound, there are frequently seen a cattle shed, an excavated
[312] tank for bathing purposes, often full of fish and water lilies, a well so arranged as to admit of water being drawn directly from
[515] it to the kitchen, an out-house *(matam)* for the Brahman
[574] travellers or visitors, and, lastly, a small edifice for the family
[343] deity. The gardens surrounding the houses are adorned with mango and jack trees, immense bananas, groves of cocoanut
[245] and areca palms and various kinds of flowers. Thus, in most places, their houses, which are occupied by fine types of humanity, (well made men and shapely women), are situated beneath the grateful shade of magnificent avenues of trees.

356 Four hundred years ago, a Portuguese traveller, writing
[175] on the subject, remarks upon the Nayar houses as being scrupulously clean and neat. Without any exaggeration it may be said that they are proverbially so, and the women are either naturally endowed with a taste, or are trained from early child-
352 hood, to keep the houses and everything therein neat and clean.
[556] Those of the richer and middle classes are in these days fur-
[177] nished with articles of European manufacture, and all their domestic utensils, for daily use, are made either of bell-metal, copper or brass, all well cleaned and washed early every morning.

415 The furniture of the poorer classes is very simple; a metal
352 pot with a spout, a few metal plates and saucers, a few metal
412 pans of different sizes, a spitoon of brass, a few mats, a knife,
184 a cot or two, a betel box, and a few wooden bins for grains, are nearly all the requirements of a household in this respect.

342 The house itself is called by several names according to
564 the occupant's caste, that of an ordinary Nayar being a *veedu*

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

1.9 The distance within which these rivers descend to the sea level being very short, there are generally a large number of steep falls or a series of cascades in their courses. These provide a rich potential for generation of hydro-electric power, which can be generated at a low cost (1.7 nP per kWh on an average). This low cost power potential is an important asset of Kerala from the point of view of the future programmes of industrialization.

1.10 Some other implications of topographical features are not so obvious. For example, the lakes, the lagoons and the backwaters fringed with coconut palms, no doubt, impart to Kerala its characteristic scenic beauty and provide one of the chief tourist attractions. Their importance, however, goes much beyond the purely aesthetic aspect. In fact, the backwaters—especially in the Travancore-Cochin region—are indirectly responsible for providing the means of livelihood to a vast section of the population. Coir spinning, the chief industry of Kerala, is located in this State primarily because of the natural retting facilities provided by the backwaters. The availability of these facilities is unique in the case of Kerala. In almost all other coconut-growing areas of India, the coconut husks go waste because of the absence of natural retting facilities. Since coir industry provides an occupation to 4 to 5 lakh persons (about 10% of the total working force and 40% of industrial working force), one can well imagine what the unemployment situation in Kerala would have been in the absence of the backwater facilities. The backwaters have also facilitated the development of a wide network of inland waterways all along the coastline. Apart from employing a large number of persons in towing or rowing the boats, the inland waterways provide inexpensive modes of transporting the agricultural produce and light industrial goods manufactured in the coastal area.

1.11 Up till now only some of the favourable consequences of physical features have been pointed out. The sloping terrain and preponderance of backwaters in the coastal area also possess a negative aspect. The heavy downpour is gradually leaching off the mineral content of the soils, thus rendering them generally poor in their fertility status. One of its ultimate consequences is the fact that livestock feed available in Kerala is deficient in mineral content and this in turn reduces the yield of milk of the livestock. The heavy precipitation of rain also creates a serious flood control problem in Kerala.

1.12 The backwaters raise other problems as well. During the dry summer months saline water from these flows into the lower reaches of the rivers, many of which fall into the backwaters. This has an adverse effect on cultivation and the supply of drinking water in the coastal areas. Coastal areas are, therefore, beset with the problem of salinity control. The chain of consequences does not stop here. Recently implementation of one of the important salinity control measures in Kerala, viz., the Thanneermukkom bund across the Vembanad lake has created a new problem in its wake. The accretion of limeshell deposits, an important raw material found in the lake, depends on the high salinity of the lake water. Since, after putting up of the barrage salinity of water will get reduced, it will have adverse repercussions on the long run supply position of the limeshells. This, in turn, jeopardizes the long run prospects of the cement industry in the State which is based on the limeshells.

[Text continues on p. 6]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

5.16 Chinese nets and stake-nets are the most important type of tackles used in the backwaters. There are about 1,180 Chinese nets and 5,400 stake-nets operating in the State. These nets are registered on payment of an annual licence fee assessed on them.

5.17 A large area of low lying paddy fields adjacent to the backwaters is used for prawn culture. The whole area is enclosed with earthern embankments (5 to 6 feet high) provided with sluice boxes for regulating the flow of water. Prawn culture in paddy fields is done on an extensive scale in Ernakulam and Trichur districts. Cultivation in these fields is restricted to a single crop lasting from July to September. The fishing operations in these fields extend from October upto the middle of April. Fishing is done with bag nets, scoop nets and drag nets. The fields are grouped into three classes on the basis of productivity. The average yields per square mile per annum from I, II and III Class are estimated at 1,080 lbs., 680 lbs. and 330 lbs. respectively. The area under the three classes are shown in Table 26.

5.18 About 80 per cent of the catches consist of prawns. On a modest estimate, the total production of prawns from these fields would be of the order of 4,000 tons. The rest of the catch consists of Mullets, Pearlspot, etc. Most of the prawns caught from the fields are cured and exported to the other States in India, Burma and Ceylon.

5.19 There are three brackish water fish farms in the State, one each at Mallapuram, Narakal and Ayiramthenga. The individual areas of these farms are 52.5, 42.5 and 22 acres respectively. An additional area of 28 acres is being converted into a farm at Ayiramthenga. Two more farms with a total area of 64 acres are also to be established.

River Fisheries

5.20 The river fisheries in Kerala are very poorly developed. Out of some 44 rivers traversing the State, only four, viz., Bharathapuzha, Periyar, Pamba and Beypore are more than 100 miles long. The more important fresh-water fish belong to the *Barbus* and Cat fish species.

5.21 There is no systematic fishing in the rivers and only a small number of fishermen are dependent on riverine fisheries. Fishing in the rivers is taken up as a hobby by the local people and the catches are utilized for domestic consumption. No data on production and the number of persons engaged are available in regard to river fisheries.

Culture Fisheries

5.22 There are a number of tanks, ponds and reservoirs in Kerala, covering an area of about 6,000 acres, However, the area suitable for fish culture is much less than this. A recent survey of culture fisheries shows that only about 260 acres out of a total area of 1,227 acres surveyed in Trivandrum, Quilon and Alleppey districts are suitable for fish culture.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

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TABLE 12

AREA IRRIGATED ACCORDING TO SOURCES

(In '000 acres)

Source	*1950-51*	*Per cent to total*	*1956-57*	*Per cent to total*	*Per cent (+)/(—) (3)/(1)*
1	2	3	4	5	6
Government Canals	321	45.15	343	41.38	+ 6.8
Private Canals	68	9.14	71	8.57	+ 4.4
Total Canals	*389*	*52.29*	*414*	*49.96*	*+ 6.4*
Tanks	82	11.03	77	9.28	— 6.1
Wells	26	3.49	29	3.49	+11.5
Other sources	247	33.19	309	37.28	+25.1
TOTAL	*744*	*100.00*	*829*	*100.00*	*+11.4*

TABLE 13

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AREA AND PRODUCTION OF RUBBER IN KERALA

Year	*No. of estates on 31st December*	*Area abandoned during the year* (In acres)	*New extension during the year including re-planting included in areas abandoned in the previous year*	*Total area under rubber during the year* (In acres)	*Area that has been tapped during the year* (In acres)	*Quantity of dry rubber produced* (Tons)
1951	9,026	1,856	4,386	141,750	99,078	13,800
1952	9,186	2,130	3,819	143,448	105,762	15,568
1953	14,231	1,489	1,555	163,254	143,263	19,430
1954	14,336	460	1,769	165,834	17,711	18,768
1955	14,386	2,386	4,963	168,412	132,831	21,605
1956	18,082	4,381	13,785	177,826	150,005	21,079
1957	43,783	4,230	31,699	246,793	167,421	21,496
1958	5,005	2,726	26,558	270,625	169,492	22,159

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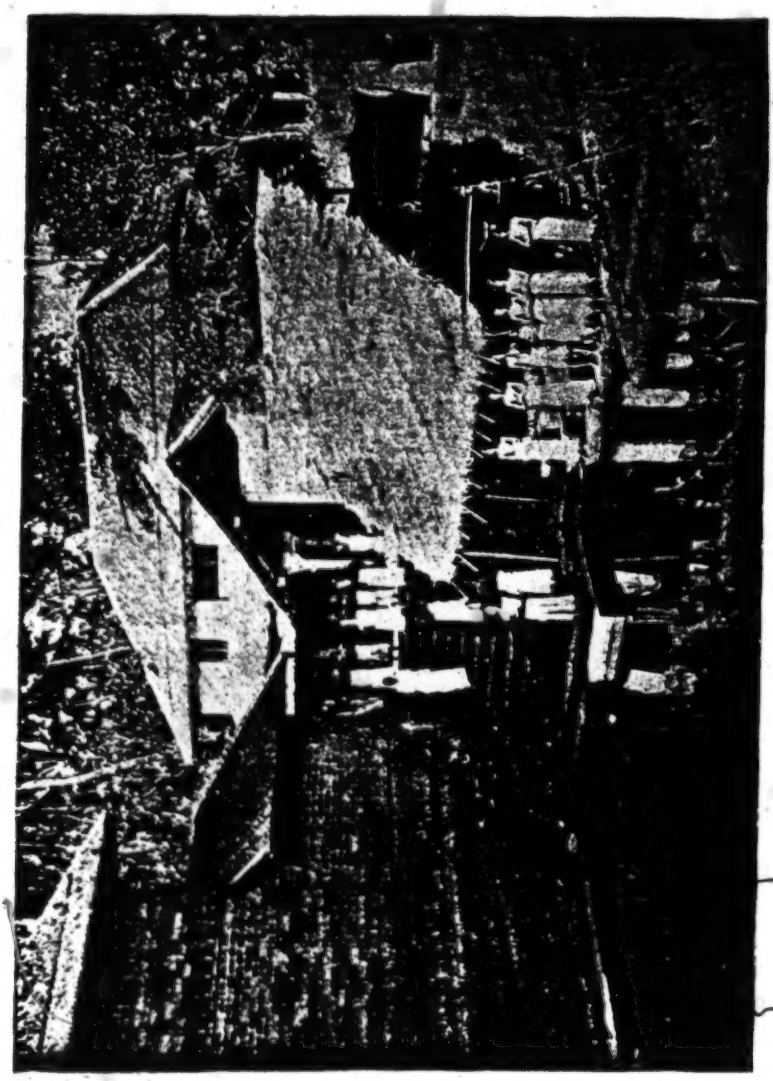

NÁYAR HOUSE.

[facing P. 361]

13:Thurston & Rangachari E-4, 5 (no date) 1909
AW11 Kerala AW11
Nayar

always shade from the many trees and palms. Every house is in its own seclusion."

Concerning Nāyar dwellings, Mr. N. Subramani Aiyar writes that "the houses of the Nāyar, standing in a separate compound, have been by many writers supposed to have been designed with special reference to the requirements of offence and defence, and Major Welsh states that the saying that every man's house is his castle is well verified here. The higher ambition of the Nāyar is, as has frequently been said, to possess a garden, wherein he can grow, without trouble or expense, the few necessaries of his existence. The garden surrounding the house is surrounded by a hedge or strong fence. At the entrance is an out-house, or patipura, which must have served as a kind of guard-room in mediæval times. In poorer houses its place is taken by a roofed door, generally provided with a stile to keep out cattle. The courtyard is washed with cow-dung, and diverse figures are drawn with white chalk on the fence. Usually there are three out-houses, a vadakkettu on the north side serving as a kitchen, a cattle-shed, and a tekketu on the southern side, where some family spirit is located. These are generally those of Maruta, *i.e.*, some member of the family who has died of small-pox. A sword or other weapon, and a seat or other emblem is located within this out-house, which is also known by the names of gurusala (the house of a saint), kalari (military training-ground), and daivappura (house of a deity). The tekketu is lighted up every evening, and periodical offerings are made to propitiate the deities enshrined within. In the south-west corner is the serpent kavu (grove), and by its side a tank for bathing purposes. Various useful trees are grown in the garden, such as the jack, areca palm, cocoanut, plantain, tamarind and mango.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kerala AW11

below 70°, the annual range at Cochin is only 6° and the diurnal is about 10°. Apart from the high falls (180 ins. plus) in the hills, rainfall decreases from N to S (Calicut 119, Trivandrum 64 ins.) and the extreme S, around Comorin, falls below 40: here alone are there major irrigation works. But this decrease is balanced by a better seasonal distribution in the S: Trivandrum has 24·85 ins. in June–August, 21·32 in September–November, and 18·23 in December–May—28% in what is an almost completely dry season in nearly all the rest of the sub-continent.

Kerala as a whole (including the hills) has an area of about 15,500 sq mls, of which some 20% (mainly on the Travancore hills and foothills) is forested and 45% NSA. The TSA is about 15–20% greater than NSA in Cochin and Malabar. The question of 'culturable waste' is, as usual, difficult; but it seems that in the alluvial and lateritic zones respectively about 75–80 and 65–70% of the total area, or 90 and 80% of the 'cultivable', are in fact cultivated.[44] It is clear that what is left will be marginal and that there is very little room for expansion.

Rice is dominant, occupying about 260,000 out of a TSA of 550,000 cropped ac. in Cochin, 860,000 out of 1,790,000 in Malabar, but only 655,000 out of 2,200,000 in Travancore. The area under rubber, tea, and pepper in the Travancore hills accounts for this in part; but in Cochin and Malabar a good deal of rice is grown on the lateritic hills after burning the jungle; the heavier rainfall has probably a bearing on this. The local variations in cropping, analysed in detail in Kuriyan's 1942 paper, deserve summarising:

(i) In the extreme S rice is grown by canal- and in Shencottah taluk (E of the hills and really outside the region) by tank-irrigation. With intensive watering and careful transplanting crops can be obtained both in September–October and in February–March. In Chittur taluk—the Cochin outlier in Palghat—there is also a little irrigation by *anicuts* or weirs feeding canals, and here cotton and groundnuts are grown. These three areas are strongly influenced by Tamil methods.

(ii) Along the backwaters (*punja* and *cole* areas) the problem is not to get water on the land but to get it off. These areas are divided into blocks of up to 50 (exceptionally 100) ac., bounded by double dykes enclosing a channel. From July to September–October the ground is submerged, sometimes to a depth of several feet; after the rains the water is lifted into the bounding channels by Persian wheels; latterly oil-driven and still more recently electric pumps powered from Pallivasal have been introduced. The land lies three or four feet below the water-level in the channels, and sluices regulate various inundations during the growing season. Should the bunds be burst the half-drowned crop may be reaped from boats by cutting off the heads.

(iii) Along the backwaters on the Cochin-Malabar boundary the soil on areas liable to salt-water inundation is heaped up into mounds about one foot

[44] Kuriyan (1938), 133; (1942).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Kerala AWII

high and five feet round, on which the paddy is sown just before the rains. When the monsoon bursts the surrounding water is freshened and transplanting takes place. This is a rather precarious method, illustrating the devices enforced by severe population pressure.

(iv) In the wet lowlands above the backwaters more normal methods prevail, but the early onset of the rains enables planting to take place in April–May and harvest in September; the continuance of the rains then often permits a poor second crop (not necessarily paddy) harvested in January; very occasionally a third is possible.

After rice, coconut is the chief crop, accounting for nearly 1 m. ac., typically, of course, in the sandy coastal strip but also on alluvial loams and (with more careful preparation) on laterites. In Travancore the coconut acreage is nearly equal to that of rice; in Quilon taluk, indeed, it covers 85% of cropped area. After rice as the essential food, the coconut palm is the basis of life in Kerala: "Apart from the several uses of the chief products, viz., coir, copra, coconut oil, oil-cake, the hollowed trunk serves as a canoe, the nut forms a staple article of diet, the leaves may be used for many of the purposes of paper, are frequently employed as thatch and for the manufacture of brooms, baskets, umbrellas, tattis [screens kept soaked to cool rooms], and fans, and utilised as crude torches in a dried form, or burnt as fuel, as it is [*sic*] or in the form of charcoal. In addition, the fresh or fermented juice of the stem is consumed as a beverage, by evaporation it is made into jaggery and by subsequent treatment even sugar is obtainable. When distilled, the toddy becomes arrack and finally vinegar."[45] Of the "industrial" workers of Kerala—most of them, of course, cottage workers—about a third are in various processes connected with coconut products, and of these two-thirds are women. The coir 'yarn' is almost entirely cottage-produced, its working-up into mats and so on largely a small factory industry.

The most important other crops (apart from plantation rubber and tea in the hills), are cassava (tapioca) and pepper, mainly in the foothills. The former is grown as a food crop on poorer lateritic soils; pepper is perhaps the chief peasant-produced cash crop after coconut. Cereals other than paddy are negligible, as are oilseeds except for a little sesamum (gingelly), often as a third crop on the higher wet-rice lands. Nearly every homestead has its plantains and other fruit trees, and ginger and the betel vine, with its associated areca palm, are also grown widely but in tiny patches.

Tapioca deserves special mention. Introduced about 1920, it is grown on the lateritic soils ("about as attractive for agriculture as railway ballast") in tiny holdings by the poorest of the poor. As Gourou points out, there is a sort of social inversion: the better-off rice farmers in the valley-bottoms, and a hundred feet or so above them a very wretched (largely Christian) peasantry.

[45] Quoted in Kuriyan, 1937 (Vol. XI), 286. Cf. P. K. Paniker, "The Coconut—its Cultivation on the Malabar Coast", *IGJ* XVIII (1943), 78–88.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Kerala AWII

Other Occupations

Fishing, both sea and freshwater, plays a big part in the life of Kerala but, as usual in India, is primitive in technique and organisation. It has, however, some interesting features: Portuguese influence is obvious in the so-called 'China nets' and the crossbow used for shooting fish from river-banks, [46] and there are many varieties of basket-work fish-traps. The catch of 'sardines' is largely used for manuring coconut; prawns are taken in flooded paddy-fields, the skins used as manure and the pulped flesh exported. Normally Burma was a good customer for prawns; the time of transport raised no difficulty as a high degree of putrescence was regarded with favour.

Travancore has a hydro-electric plant at Pallivasal on the Mudrapuzha River, with a capacity of 21,000 kW which can be increased to 36,000. The power is used for the industries of Cochin town and Ernakulam, of which the production of soap and cosmetics from copra is the most important. It also powers the sole Indian aluminium works, at Alwaye, formerly dependent on imported alumina but now increasingly supplied from Muri in Bihar (591 above); and a recent development is the use of electric pumps for 'de-watering' the *cole* lands. The great reservoir impounding the Periyar headwaters was built to supply irrigation water, by tunnel, to the Madras side, but may possibly be developed for power in the future.

Except for local clays and laterite, the only mineral deposits are the ilmenite, monazite, and zircon sands of the Travancore beaches from Quilon to Cape Comorin. These contain 8–10% thorium oxide and were exploited for the manufacture of gas mantles; the spread of electric lighting ruined this demand, but there has been a remarkable recovery. Titania from the ilmenite and cerium from the monazite are essential to some highly specialised electrical and chemical manufactures (electrodes, tracer bullets, and as a catalyst in benzine synthesis, amongst others) and recent developments in atomic research have made these deposits of great strategic significance. Production, which in 1925 fell to one hundred-weight of monazite, amounted in 1944 to 200,000 tons ilmenite, 2000 monazite, and 1600 zircon.

Population and Settlement

Population problems are very serious in Kerala; the density of Cochin in 1941 was the highest for any political unit in India—953 on a total area of 1493 sq mls—locally reaching 2000–4000 in a purely rural environment. Elankunnapuzha village had in 1941 no fewer than 18,173 people on its 3·8 sq mls—a density of 4782. The rate of increase has been very high—for

[46] A. K. Menon, "Fisheries of Cochin" (*IGJ* XIV (1939)), 229–36; C. D. Forde, *op. cit.*, 269.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Kerala AW11

THE COCHIN STATE.

WATAKANCHERY (TALAPILLI TALUK).

[*By S. Subbarama Aiyar, Christian College, Madras.*]

An absence of villages, as they are to be found in the east of the peninsula, is a characteristic of Malabar generally, including the States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency. The Malayalis are averse to having their houses congregated together. But the Taluk of Palghat is an exception. It is situated in the gap between the Nilgiris on the north, and the Palnis and other high ranges on the south, and is the natural line of communication between the west coast and the eastern plains, utilized by the South Indian Railway. All the villages in the Palghat taluk are designed in a manner that suggests that the original immigrants, coming from the east, were accustomed to an intense form of corporate life. They have a scientific and regular plan, and the description of any one of them will serve for all.

The Brahmans live in closely packed houses and their colony is called a '*gramam*' or '*agraharam*.' There is invariably either a temple at one end, or the streets of the *gramam* radiate in all directions from a temple in the midmost place. There are also wells in the street common to all the villagers. There is scarcity of water in summer in almost all the villages of Palghat as they are situated on a high level and rocky ground. The *gramam* is surrounded by the *tarai* in which all the other castes live. Artisans and agricultural labourers live there in houses built singly, but the weavers generally inhabit hovels built in rows. People of the same caste and profession congregate in particular blocks of the *tarai*. The *tarai* is occupied by the richest janmi as well as the poorest day labourer. The *tarai* has its own *kavu* or temple in which the low caste people conduct their worship. The *gramam* with its adjoining *tarai* is set up on rather elevated ground in the midst of paddy fields or on the slope of an adjoining hill so that every available acre of land may be cultivated. All houses in the *gramam* are built in the same way. From the street you step into a verandah whose extent corresponds to the whole width of the house; hence into a small room, the *neli*, to the right of which is a granary. The *neli* leads you into a rectangular hall, in the middle of which is a yard exposed to the sky. To the right of this is another big hall separated from the other by a long window crossed by beams. The store-room is on the street side of this, the kitchen on the back side. The kitchen has a verandah abutting on the garden. A cow-shed is erected at the other end of the garden. The house may or may not possess upstairs rooms; these usually adjoin the street.

In that part of Malabar in which Watakanchery is situated the general plan of the Palghat type of house is followed, with modifications, by the *Tamil* Brahmans. The Malayali Brahmans, known as Nambudris, and the Nayars, have their houses surrounded by big compounds. Entering from the compound you step into a portico which thrusts itself forward from the general structure of the house.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

566 [462] work connected with the harvesting, separating the paddy from the stalks, etc. They are employed as a rule throughout the year by their masters; in leisure days however they are paid a little less than the stated wage.

[262] They take kanji (rice boiled in water) and toddy in the morning, toddy in the afternoon, cooked rice at night; they eat also fish and flesh. They behave well, are obedient and honest and loyal to their masters, very earnest about their work, but are completely illiterate. There are no schools for them in the village.

[778] [796] They worship spirits in the shape of stocks and stones; and on the occasion of the festivals of their Gods and Goddesses they take a good dose of toddy and with drums and bugles and priests dance in the premises of the 'temple'.

564 There are sub-divisions among the Pulayas, Cherumas, Paraiyas, Nayadis, Malayas and others, who form separate castes among themselves and are restricted in their intercourse with one another.

[361] The Cherumas dwell in colonies of two or three families each, in low, small thatched huts near the land of their masters. It must be admitted that they are not treated properly by the high caste Hindus, though they form the backbone of agricultural labour in these parts. They are low paid and underfed and treated with contempt and sometimes with harshness by the other castes and their masters. It is a wonder that they still cherish obedience to their masters and earnestness in their work. There are a few who try to get rid of the yoke by running away, but the majority are contented and stay with their masters. They are experts in practical agricultural work and can face any sort of weather.

311 *Land and Occupation of land—*

	ACRES.
Area of wet lands	653·24
,, dry lands	937·21
,, lands watered by wells	...
,, common waste	18·81
Pasture other than common waste	33·94
Woods and forests	1,912·35
Fruit trees and scattered shade trees ...	301·48

● 312 There are altogether five public tanks in the village, most of which are not used for irrigation purposes at all, but for bathing, which is done by all at least once a day. There are no public wells. The cultivation of rice solely depends on the rains of the South-West Monsoon (June—September) which are copious, and of the North-East Monsoon in November. Every house however contains a well, from which water is drawn for drinking purposes and for watering the compound gardens in the summer. Water can be obtained at a very slight depth in most parts except at the foot of the hills. The sides of the tanks, usually not very large in size, are paved step by step with granite or laterite stones by which people can step down into the water for bathing. Water is lifted from the wells by means of pots for drinking purposes, but for watering gardens lifts of various sorts are used.

406 The water wheel, which costs about Rs. 35, is very rarely used except in *kol* fields where water has to be lifted out of the land.

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454 The families which have made savings are very few in proportion to the population both in the 'town' and in the village area. There is a big Nambudiri janmi in the village. He owns very much land which he has sublet and holds the custody of much [428] devaswom land. As the partition of family property does not exist in a Nambudiri family, their property only increases. The joint property system also obtains among the Nayars, but the Nayar families which are well-to-do and have made savings could be numbered on the fingers. The majority of them are poor and many of them occupy themselves in work for wages. The Brahmans other than Nambudiri Brahmans follow the divided property system.* I can only count four or five families which possess wealth to the value of Rs. 10,000 and above and only one or two which have Rs. 20,000. Most of the Brahmans are comparatively poor. Some are engaged in Government service for a paltry pay of Rs. 20 per month or less, and few are able to save much out of this pay.

No more capital is invested in agriculture than is absolutely necessary from year to year, as for replenishing the stock, implements, etc., and clearing the fields of rubbish and making it [312] ready to receive the rains. Bunds are also constructed, to store water in the water course which runs on the north of the village area, by persons whose lands lie near it, but these dams last only during the summer. A few indeed improve their land by digging it, and one or two have made new fields on land previously waste. About one-tenth of the savings could be said to be utilized in these ways. No one invests his earnings in savings banks.

[426] Lending to neighbours is *the* form of investing one's savings, until they come up to a round sum which can be invested in landed property. A few people in the town take advantage of others' difficulties to lend money at exorbitant interest. Many are in debt.

454 525 All castes and conditions of men try to accumulate their savings by subscribing to a *kuri*. A *kuri* serves the purpose of a savings bank. There are three chief kinds—*bhangati-kuri*, auction-*kuri* and lottery-*kuri*. The first prevails among the lower castes and consists of small subscriptions. The *kuri* is started by a *kuri-muppan* (stake-holder) with a certain specified amount as principal, each member subscribing an equal amount. The stake-holder is entrusted with the task of giving a dinner to all the members, each member contributing two or four annas for the purpose. On the day appointed for the *kuri*, the members bid down the amount and the bidden amount is collected from each of the several members and paid to the bidder. Auction-*kuri* is similar to this, but the dinner is dispensed with and the *kuri* deals with large amounts subscribed by well-to-do men. In a lottery-*kuri*, a number of persons agree that each should subscribe a certain sum of money by periodical instalments and that each in his turn, as determined by lot, should take the whole of the subscription for each instalment, all being returned the amount of their subscriptions and the common fund being lent to each subscriber in turn.

454 [301] Every decent householder among the Brahmans spends some money (at least Rs. 60) on gold ornaments for his wife or other female relatives. The other castes rarely use gold ornaments or jewellery of any cost.

* I.e., on the death of a man his property is equally divided among his sons.—Ed.

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562 women can speak to other caste people, male or female, without breach of decorum. Purdah is observed among the Nambudri Brahman women.

●312 Every house contains a well from which water is taken for drinking and domestic purposes. Water is specially good in the village since the ground forms a good filter. Wells are generally not very deep. Few people boil the water before drinking. Generally a raised mound is erected round the well to keep bad water out; nevertheless, during the rainy season water from the compounds runs to the wells with the result that the wells get extremely muddy, but the water is used without compunction by the people. Tank water is used only for bathing.

871 *Education.*—There are only three schools in the whole village, one for boys which has this year (1916) been raised to a high school, a Church school for Christian boys, and a vernacular school for girls up to the primary standard. The high school is a spacious building recently constructed at a cost of nearly Rs. 20,000. There is a prescribed code of study, and pupils are prepared for the School Final Examination which is conducted by the State. Brahman girls never attend the school after the age of 12. But all of them learn now to read and write the vernacular which is Malayalam in these parts, though the language the Brahmans use in their houses is Tamil, with an intonation markedly changed from the Tamil in the eastern parts. I subjoin below the strength of the respective classes in the high school and the girls' primary school. The Church school is maintained by the Christians in their church for their exclusive use. It is classed as a primary school.

Sirkar High School, Watakancheri.

	Hindus.			Muhammadans.	Christians.	Total.
	Brahmans.	Nayars.	Other castes.			
Form IV	17	7	3	...	1	28
,, III (*a*)	9	7	3	...	2	21
,, ,, (*b*)	10	9	3	...	3	25
,, II (*a*)	13	11	1	...	3	28
,, ,, (*b*)	8	17	12	...	2	39
,, I (*a*)	11	7	4	...	2	24
,, ,, (*b*)	10	9	3	...	2	24
Standard IV (*a*)	7	10	4	1	2	24
,, ,, (*b*)	10	7	5	...	1	23
,, III (*a*)	10	20	6	1	1	38
,, ,, (*b*)	16	12	6	3	2	39
,, II (*a*)	6	10	9	...	6	31
,, ,, (*b*)	7	15	7	...	3	32
,, I (*a*)	16	16	2	...	3	37
,, ,, (*b*) ...	11	11	6	2	4	34
Infants (*a*)	9	13	8	4	6	40
,, (*b*) ...	9	18	6	1	6	40
Total ...	179	183	88	12	49	527

Note.—The Muhammadans are very backward in point of education. So too the lower castes of Hindus.

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he brother or son, in the case of a Nayar the sister's son succeeds. 428
The Travancore and Cochin royal families and the Zamorin family descend in the female line.

Water-supply.—Drinking water is supplied by the wells. Every 312
house has one. The sinking of wells is easy here since the soil is loose and there is no rock and the height above the sea level is not much. Wealthy people build the well with granite, others leave it with mud banks. The labourers dig their wells themselves as it involves only two days' work. The wells never dry up. There are three public wells and two temple wells besides. Indeed the scarcity of water is not felt at all. But for bathing purposes the water in the tank is bad, and some people use well-water for the same. The quality of the well-water is fairly good.

Education.—There are seven schools of which one is a secondary 871
school managed by the Taluk Board, one is a Government Girls' School and the other five are elementary schools, one being Muhammadan. There are 680 boys and 185 girls in attendance.

The education imparted is fairly satisfactory, special stress being laid onthe vernacular. According to the educational curriculum prescribed by the Director, the geography of the district, a little Indian History, a good training in the vernacular, a little Arithmetic, and the beginning of English by teaching the alphabet and small words, are all taught in the school.

Eighty per cent of the men and fifteen per cent of the women [212]
can read and write the vernacular; about two per cent can read [191]
and write English, and somewhat fewer speak it.

Forty boys have left the village and had a college course, and there is one girl matriculate.

About 20 boys after undergoing a little commercial training at Calicut have gone to Bombay and other commercial centres for employment.

It may here be mentioned that emigration to Ceylon is frequent. 167
Emigrants return after three or four years, and remain in the village for one year, and again go to Ceylon. Nearly 150 have gone within recent years.

The only library in the village is the secondary school library 217
which contains nearly 200 books, all juvenile. Five or six private 517
persons possess some books. Some are lawyers and their books are connected with law. Others have only novels. Nobody takes study seriously. Nobody is interested in Science as a subject. This lack of enthusiasm for knowledge makes the Indian less original and less artistic. I know nobody in my village who has designed new arts or invented anything at all. This lack is everywhere visible in India and seen even among students who do not care to know anything more than those things which are prescribed for the examination. This fundamental weakness must be shamefully confessed, but there are signs of change in the right direction.

Village administration.—The head of the village is the *adhigari* 622
or the village munsif. He is the representative of the King-Emperor. He collects the revenue, looks after the affairs of the village, has the jurisdiction over minor civil and criminal cases, controls the roads, Government lands and trees and other public places—in fact he represents every function, in a greater or lesser degree, of the King-Emperor, and is the guardian of the public peace. He must

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Between ages	41—50	11
"	51—60	9
"	61—70	9
"	71—80	10
84 years of age		1
92 "		1
		156

It is to be noted that infant deaths are more than half the total deaths and number 87 out of 156 last year.

This information is not fully accurate because the people do not report births and deaths generally to the village officials and consequently they have to ascertain the facts by inquiring and it is possible that some births or deaths escape their notice. The ignorance of the people and the unnecessary fear of post-mortem examination in the case of deaths explain their silence. Probably a considerable number of infant deaths escape report.

Paracheri.—Three families, 15 members.—7 women, 8 men.

Number of dead for the last ten years—

Family No. 1	7
" " 2	5
" " 3	4

The village land—

	ACS.
Garden lands	792½
Wet lands	360¼
Dry "	135⅜
Government lands	14⅛
Inam lands	201¾
Total	1,504 17/24

There are no waste lands.

The principal fruit trees are mangoes, jacks, plantains, and there are not many though sufficient for the village consumption.

There are tanks and wells in plenty. Drinking water is got from wells; and the tanks are used for bathing and for agricultural purposes.

Occupation of land and Agriculture.—The number of kanomdars in the village is 385. The large kanomdars do not generally cultivate the land themselves.

The land is divided into small strips, each strip containing from 50 to 1,000 coconut palms. The large kanomdar takes his residence on one of these strips, and he himself cultivates the particular strip where he is, and gives to small tenants the remaining strips belonging to him. Consequently only about 180 acres of the whole village are cultivated by the large kanomdars. In addition to these lands three kanomdars cultivate all of their land. Two are Muhammadans and one a Tiyya. The area belonging to these three kanomdars is about 134 acres. The remaining land, 1,200 odd acres, is given to tenants to cultivate. There are also between 200 and 300 small kanomdars belonging to the agricultural classes, who hold land insufficient for their maintenance and also cultivate the lands of big kanomdars. A number of the big

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423
651

The desam contains 130 survey fields in all. The settlement was first introduced in this desam in fasli 1313.

The following table shows the nature and extent of the holdings and revenue as given in the 'A' register of the village:—

Holdings and Revenue.

Fasli.	Occupied area.								Deduct waste remitted.		Remainder charged.			
	Wet.		Garden.		Dry.		Total.							
	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Extent.	Assessment.	Actual cultivation.	Waste charged.	Total extent charged.	Assessment.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS.	ACS.	RS. A.	ACS.	RS. A.			ACS.		ACS.	RS. A.
1313	445·27	2,226 5	209·43	502	197·16	157 14	851·86	2,886 3	...	...	851·86	...	851·86	2,886 3

Fasli—*cont.*	Second crop.		Miscellaneous revenue.	Total ryotwari demand excluding waste remitted.	Deduct remission other than waste already shown in column 11.			Net demand for the year.	Amount collected within year.	
	Extent.	Charge.			Occasional remission other than for waste.	Other remissions and deductions.	Total.		Arrear.	Current.
	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
	ACS.	RS. A.	RS. A.	RS. A.		RS. A.	RS. A.	RS. A.		RS. A.
1313	8·96	13 11	96 5	2,996 3	...	851 12	851 12	2,144 7	...	2,144 7

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The ryots mostly depend on the mercy of the monsoon for the watering of fields. But throughout the summer season beginning from the end of December to the end of July, watering is carried on from wells and tanks, especially in the case of garden cultivation. Tanks and wells are not sufficient and those existing are not deep enough and frequently dry up towards March.

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The chief crops cultivated are coconut, arecanut, paddy, gingelly, pulses, horsegram, plantain and jack.

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Pasturage is obtainable for the cattle on the unoccupied dry lands. Water for the cattle is obtained from channels, private tanks and wells.

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There is hardly any public tank. One stream (channel) flows along the northern boundary of the desam during rainy seasons when the fields become flooded. But its utility is limited since with the summer the whole channel is dried up. There are private wells in all gardens and sometimes in the fields of corn. But they are shallow for the most part and the water-supply is inadequate. The ryots who are wretchedly poor cannot afford to utilise modern progress in the field of well-boring, nor are they conversant with such developments.

There are woods and forests near the desam as we have before mentioned, but they are of no practical use to the people. The forest, which is outside the boundary limit of this desam, is under Government supervision and people are not allowed to cut trees. Other resources of the forest, moreover, are hardly taken advantage of, partly by the general apathy of the cultivator for improvement and partly by its being situated sufficiently far to dissuade them from incurring the necessary loss involved. At the same time it is in a way an influence to the ryots' detriment, for tigers, boars, etc., which the Akalanum and Mattur hills breed occasionally, make nocturnal depredations on the ryots' stock and corn fields. The peasantry are helpless against these enemies.

Occupation of land.—The private jenmam ryotwari holdings during the year of settlement (fasli 1313) are classified as follows :—

Pattadars paying	Number.			Extent.		Assessment.	
	Single	Joint.	Total.	Acs.	C.	Rs.	A.
Re. 1 and less	2	...	2	...	50	1	8
Rs. 10 and less but over Re. 1	7	2	9	7	71	33	14
„ 30 „ „ „ 10 ...	3	2	5	18	21	96	7
„ 50 „ „ „ 30 ...	1	...	1	7	8	37	5
„ 100 „ „ „ 50 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 250 „ „ „ 100 ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ 500 „ „ „ 250 ...	1	...	1	99	56	401	13
„ 1,000 „ „ „ 500 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Over 1,000 ...	1	...	1	718	80	2,315	4
Total ...	15	4	19	851	86	2,886	3

Out of 851·86 acres no less than 818·36 belong to the two jenmi landlords. There are no occupants of Government jenmam ryotwari land in the same year.

Almost all kanomdars are themselves cultivators. The two jenmis, who are Brahmans by caste, and nearly 10 other families

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311 *Land.*—

	ACS.
Wet land	681·07
Occupied dry land	231·12
Unoccupied dry land	1,221·92
Garden land	109·59

137 Woodlands cover an area of about 150 acres. Shrubs and thickets, as well as rank undergrowth are found almost everywhere. Big trees, scattered and in groves, are also abundant.

Fruit trees and scattered shade trees are abundant. Among the former may be mentioned the mango, jack, coconut and arecanut palms, the palmyra palm (yielding toddy), etc. There are numerous kinds of shade trees, many of which can be used as timber. Among timber trees specially may be noted the teak and the jack-tree.

312 Tanks and wells are very numerous. Wells indeed are too numerous to be enumerated. Every house has one or more and there are several in the fields, about one in an acre. There are more than 50 tanks, though some of them are mere ponds, dry in most months. A few tanks yield water unfailingly for irrigation on a small rate. They may be 6 to 20 feet deep and of varying lengths, from, say 10 to 100 feet. Some are of irregular shape. The wells are either circular or rectangular and from 10 to 40 feet deep--often deeper still. If circular their diameter measures from 5 to 10 feet and if rectangular they are from 6 to 10 feet broad and 8 to 16 feet long. A few are dry in summer, but many wells yield an abundant and unfailing supply of water for domestic and agricultural purposes.

There is a small channel passing through the village which is full during the rains, but mostly dry in the hot months. A dam is however put across it in some places and the scanty water stored up for future use. But there is not any very considerable quantity.

427 *Occupation of land.*—Most of the cultivated area is sublet to tenants. This is characteristic of Malabar, where most of the landlords do not themselves cultivate the land, but let it to others on short leases of 12 years called *kanom* leases. The kanom lease-holders in turn sublet the land, though a few of them actually cultivate it.

There are nominally 50 patta-holders and all of them come under the head of non-cultivating landowners. The richest have no particular occupation. Many are Nambudiri Brahmans not resident in the village, and they have comfortable positions as priests, preceptors, etc. The biggest landowners, who almost monopolise the land, are two or three in number and they live in ease on the revenues of their lands.

The great body of tenants own no land; they simply rent it on kanom lease or are tenants at will. There may be one or two among the landowners who are also the kanom tenants of some other landlord. But as a rule the kanom tenant owns no land.

There is a growing body of landless agricultural labourers.

By the census of 1901 there were 383 landholders (tenants) in that year. This number declined to 258 in 1917, paying land-revenue as stated below (note that the superior occupier contracts with his tenants that the latter pay the kist).

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556 own most of the cultivable land in the village. This family draws an income of rather more than 10,000 paras of paddy from the village, husking it in the village and using it to feed a vast household of Nambudri priests and students, and maintain a choultry. It employs a Sanskrit pandit, whose time, as the demand for Sanskrit teaching diminishes, is partly taken up with the recital to the young students of Puranic stories to which the unseen ladies of the household listen eagerly.

312 *Water-supply.*—The water-supply is abundant and is obtained from deep wells and tanks. Water from deep wells alone is used for drinking purposes. Owing to the rocky nature of the subsoil some wells are dry in summer. Each house has one or more wells; it costs about Rs. 20 to bore an ordinary deep well. The quality of well water is excellent and is an asset to the village. All people [515] bathe every day in tanks, sometimes both in the morning and evening, especially Brahmans. The villagers are personally very clean and tidy.

871 *Education.*—One elementary school, started (very recently) and managed by the philanthropic Nambudri landlord of the place, gives free instruction to boys and girls of all castes up to the fifth standard. The school has two tiled buildings, one having an area of 72 by 20 feet, inside, and a verandah of the same length which is 9 feet broad, and the other having an area of 15 by 18 feet. Both are well ventilated and well situated and have a good appearance. There is a small flower garden in front. The school is provided with the necessary furniture, maps, and pictures, and is as far as it goes one of the best equipped of such schools. It teaches reading, writing and arithmetic, music, drawing and gardening. About the practical, as distinct from the cultural value of this education, one must say (like the Scotchman) "I have my doots." There are now no less than 5 "qualified" teachers; how one wishes that "qualified" meant much more than it does mean in educational language! They are so ill-paid (Rs. 7 to 15 per month) that it is hopeless to expect more capable men to be forthcoming or to take real interest in the work of the school. As it is, I know that at least one master is interested in the work. One hundred and twenty-six boys and 42 girls, I am informed, attend the school more or less regularly. These are drawn from all classes, except the very lowest like Cherumas and Paraiyas. The vast majority however are caste Hindus—all the girls are—and come from the Nayar and Brahman families. One could wish for greater regularity in their attendance. But they complain of having work to do at home, in assisting their parents, or they are sometimes too hungry to attend school. They are as a rule too poor to buy their own books or slates and these have to be provided by the school. Numerous prizes of books, slates, etc., are given by liberal villagers and the manager every year, to encourage the pupils to persist and to attract others. The school is steadily growing.

The average duration of school life is about four years. Many 871 students leave before that period owing to the necessity of working for their livelihood.

212 About 18 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular. This

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land is the chief source of a livelihood and industries do not exist. What is the conclusion? The increasing emigration to other places points in the same direction. The fact that the emigrants return as soon as they earn something shows that they are not likely to leave home unless hard-pressed. The increasing indebtedness of the villagers and the growth in the number of assignments and mortgages are other evidence. But population has increased only 7 per cent between 1901 and 1911. Wages are very low and have not risen in proportion to prices. Prices of food-stuffs have in many cases doubled within my own personal knowledge. Articles like milk, ghee, etc., have doubled in price within the last ten years. The price of grain has risen enormously in a generation. I have been told on good authority that some fifty years ago grain was four times as cheap as to-day. Only the land-owning classes and those who have surplus grain to sell have profited from this high rise. Many independent owners of land have been forced to sell their land to keep themselves free from debt and to pay the Government taxes. Taxation is much heavier: when the settlement was introduced into the village some twelve years ago the assessment was doubled and many villagers suffered. Against all this evidence of deterioration one must place the improvement in the standard of living of some classes and the growth of education, though unsatisfactory in many respects.

As for possibilities of economic improvement and the opportunities therefor, it may be said that the former are many, the latter few (as things now are) unless the villagers get help from outside—from the Government. In the sphere of agriculture improvement is badly needed, though the means of bringing it seem to be lacking, methods of cultivation could be improved and the use of scientific manure introduced. But all this requires capital and that is conspicuous by its absence. The advantage must be practically demonstrated to the cultivator and to the landlord, who alone can take the initiative herein. It seems to be impossible to introduce scientific farming so long as the system of scattered and strip holdings continues. The landlord must get his lands continuous; as it is as many as half a dozen landlords may have strips of land in one survey division of half a dozen acres. A man holding 10 acres may have it in 20 parcels, a distance of a mile from one plot to another is not uncommon.

About the possibility of extending the area of irrigated land only an expert could speak with confidence. As it is, out of a total area of 2,380 acres only 680·78 acres are wet land and 110 acres garden land—the rest coming under 'unoccupied or occupied dry.' It would be a very good thing if more of this could be brought under cultivation than at present. It does not appear that many more wells could be sunk with advantage. At present the wet and garden lands abound in wells, the 'dry' land being without any. It would not pay to sink wells in it and take out water according to the existing methods. If cheaper and more efficient methods are possible, then it would be worth attempting.

Something might be done—must be done, if the village is to improve—to ameliorate the general condition of the villagers and